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MEDIA AND CHILDREN OF THOSE WHO ARE NOT LIKE US. A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES...PART I--EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED.

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RATHER THAN GENERALIZING ABOUT PERSONS WHO ARE "CULTURALLY DEPRIVED," EDUCATORS MUST ARRIVE AT A MORE COMPLEX UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPECIFIC WAYS THESE INDIVIDUALS VARY FROM THE PREVAILING PATTERNS OF CULTURE, AND HOW EDUCATIONAL METHODS MIGHT BE ADOPTED TO THE PARTICULAR NEEDS OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT. THREE MAJOR FACTORS MAY BE RELATED TO HIS CULTURAL VARIANCE--(1) "ETHCLASS," OR THE INTERACTION OF SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNIC GROUP, (2) ECONOMIC FACTORS, WHICH CAUSE 53 PERCENT OF AMERICAN FAMILIES TO BE CLASSIFIED AS POOR OR DEPRIVED, AND (3) ECOLOGICAL FACTORS, WHICH INCLUDE SUCH PHENOMENA AS RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF THE INNER-CITY POOR, FARM TO CITY MIGRATION, MIGRATORY LABOR, LOW-INCOME FARMERS, AND FARM PROBLEMS. AMONG THE MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT, TRANSMITTED FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION, ARE A SENSE OF PASSIVE FATALISM, AN ABSENCE OF FUTURE-ORIENTED GOALS, AND A GENERALLY WEAK PERCPETION OF SELF WITHIN SEQUENCES OF TIME. THESE PATTERNS AND A GENERALLY LIMITED ENVIRONMENT TEND TO RESTRICT COMPETENCE, MOTIVATION, AND LANGUAGE-CONCEPT FORMATION. FOR EXAMPLE, IN SCHOOL "ETHCLASS" PRESENTS A FORMIDABLE BARRIER TO VERBAL COMMUNICATION AND TO TEACHER-PUPIL-PEER INTERACTIONS IN GENERAL. TO HELP OVERCOME THIS BARRIER, TEACHERS MUST BE PARTICULARLY PERCEPTIVE AND MATURE INDIVIDUALS. SPECIFICALLY, THEY MIGHT EMPLOY SUCH WORTHWHILE TECHNIQUES AS THE US OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO ACCOMPANY ORAL PRESENTATIONS AND A MULTISENSORY PRESENTATION OF LESSONS. HOWEVER, STUDIES OF THE SUCCESSFUL USE OF VARIOUS MEDIA BY CULTURALLY DIFFERENT INDIVIDUALS ARE INCONCLUSIVE, AND TEST DESIGNS FOR MEASURING THE EFFECT OF VARIOUS MEDIA MAY NOT SUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBE THE ACTUAL PROCESS AND RESULTS OF LEARNING. THIS ARTICLE IS APPENDIX C TO THE EDUCATIONAL MEDIA COUNCIL. A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES...PART I--EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED. FINAL REPORT. (LB)

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APPENDIX C

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A STUDY OF THE CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN CERTAIN EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF NATIONAL CONCERN

PART I: EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

May, 1967

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MEDIA AND CHILDREN
OF
THOSE WHO ARE NOT LIKE US

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MEDIA AND CHILDREN
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Words are, at best, an incomplete carrier of our thoughts and emotion. Therefore, in spite of the facility with which we speak nowadays of children who are culturally-deprived, disadvantaged, or underprivileged, it is not always clear specifically whom we designate by such a phrase. And who are we, to begin with?

Identification of someone as culturally deprived certainly involves postulation of some standard style of cultural life and a value judgment. Loosely speaking, our life is assumed to be culturally replete and hence to fit to be the criterion in judging those who are not like us. There is naturally nothing absolute about such a comparison, but we seldom adopt the life style of someone more culturally refined than we are as the standard and count ourselves among the culturally-deprived!

One of the dangers of this self-centered maneuver appears to be the familiar "gung-ho syndrome," or the well-intentioned but naive proselytization of our own values and practices.[1] Mission has long been aware of the adverse effects, while education and social work have had their respective share of this type of zealous evangelism. It would not be an overstatement to say that the newest versions of this phenomenon are observable in such celebrated campaigns as the Peace Corps and the War on Poverty.

Another difficulty with the oft-used phrase, cultural deprivation, is its implication of absence of culture along a single continuum. Nothing is farther from the reality: "We have to understand the fact that culturally different does not mean devoid of culture, and that children of Negro, Mexican, uneducated, bookless, and houseless families do not come to us with nothing. Let me repeat - they come with selves and with a sense of belonging to whatever group is theirs. ....."[2]

In other words, what is in question is not deprivation or deficit in a monolithic culture, but rather subcultures with their particular values, objectives, norms, and behaviors which disagree with the modal patterns of the general culture.[3]

Finally, the generalized use of the summarizing term, the culturally deprived, tends to cover the large inter- and intra-group differences among those so designated.[4] No matter how one identifies such people, he risks the imminent overgeneralization and oversimplification. They may be equally impoverished and underprivileged, but the Puerto Rican Americans

present different problems than those of the Negro Americans or the white slum dwellers. Tasks facing Southern hillbillies or reservation Indians are quite dissimilar to those of the white farm laborers or of migrant workers of the Mexican descent. Obviously no single description does justice to the varied groups and their subcultures, and no simple solution is available to meet the divergent issues involved.

Parameters of Difference

Whom, then, should we keep in mind when we discuss those unlike us? Havighurst believes that these groups are at the bottom in American income hierarchy, have a rural background, suffer from social and economic discrimination, and are distributed widely throughout the United States. In ethnic terms, he estimates that these groups are about evenly divided between whites and nonwhites and enumerates the following groups as the major ones: Negro and white migrants to the Northern industrial cities; Mexican migrants of a rural background to the West and Middle West; and European immigrants of a rural background from Eastern and Southern Europe. [5]

In such a list as this, it is immediately clear that the parameters which characterize the variant populations include, among others, (1) ethclass, (2) economic, and (3) ecological factors. Let us take a brief look at each of these now.

Ethclass Factors

The concept of "ethclass" was proposed by Gordon to "refer to the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class." [6] The importance of social class status in defining our behavior is increasingly recognized, at least within the dominant Anglo-American population. In spite of an earlier observation by Warner of the interaction between caste and class systems in the American society, [7] the fact of social classes within and across various ethnic groups, nevertheless, tends to be underemphasized.

Thus, no matter which class positions they happen to occupy, a Chinese is a Chinese and a Negro is a Negro to many people. In reality, however, a Chinese just does not associate with any and all Chinese Americans merely because they are Chinese. Chances are that, in his behavioral patterns, he would be much closer to those in the same social class, regardless of their ethnicity, than to Chinese in different classes.

In other words, a person feels a sense of peoplehood, or of historical identification, with his ethnic group, while his social class is the locus of a sense of behavioral identification. Still, in terms of his primary-group relationships, he feels really congenial and relaxed only with those in his particular ethclass. The ethclass, then, gives him a sense of participational

identification. This is the only group of people which accords a person both the sense of interdependence of fate and that of behavioral similarities.[8] Further, due to the multiple melting-pot condition or the structural pluralism of the American society, it is obvious that the same external characteristics do not necessarily specify the same social class positions across ethnic varieties. For this reason, the ethclass may be a better parameter to designate variant subcultures.

The heuristic value of this concept was demonstrated unawares by Lesser, Fifer, and Clark in their exploration of mental abilities of Jewish, Negro, Puerto Rican, and Chinese children in the city of New York, representing the lower and middle social classes.[9] The authors reported that the interaction of social-class and ethnic-group membership, namely, the ethclass, was significantly associated with the level of each of four mental abilities (verbal, reasoning, numerical, and spatial), while the pattern of these abilities was more or less specific to each ethnic group, the social class not altering the basic organization. Seemingly, then, "low ability" means one thing to an ethclass, e. g., middle-class, protestant, Swedish Americans, while it means something different to another ethclass, e. g., lower-class, Catholic, Italian Americans.

The alleged variations in child-rearing practices have been well documented by several authors.[10] In general, these data suggest, the middle-class parents have been becoming more permissive and tolerant, while working-class (upper-lower class) parents are following the same trend, thus closing the gap observed earlier between these two adjacent social classes. Here again, however, this generalized picture may be more misleading than revealing. For one thing, it is a fact that not much is known about the attitudes and practices of the bottom group, namely, the lower-lower class. Even among those living in the slum, moreover, one can detect some rather distinct types, for example, Galbraith's "case poverty" and "insular poverty."[11] The former represents those lazy, drunk, or mentally deficient ones who are demoralized, other-blaming, and unconcerned about their children's future. Those who are victims of insular poverty, on the other hand, are cognizant of their fate and engaged in a hard-fought, though admittedly futile, war for themselves and their offspring. This is the group about which Vontress said that "the people most dissatisfied with slum conditions are the people who live in them."[12]

Take, further, the case of Mexican Americans. These people, the third largest minority group in the United States, are known for their homogeneity in terms both of their religion and language and of their internal social differentiation (occupation, income, and schooling.[13] Contrast this with the second largest minority group, American Indians. It is generally observed that Indians are, in most regions, without a highly developed social status system, while being quite heterogeneous with regard to their cultural patterns.[14] If, in addition, we recall the complex nature of ethnic assimilation, with several discernible variables (physical features,

population, distribution, language, religion, degree of subjugation, strength of subsystems, rate of assimilation, etc.),[15] it becomes obvious that a simple-minded pronouncement, "Let us save the underprivileged!," is far from helpful in clarifying the issue and, indeed, not particularly meaningful.

Economic Factors

It is nowadays fashionable to speak of poverty as a magic word which explains most everything: crime, delinquency, mental illness, learning difficulties, divorce, population increase, or what have you. And, it even appears, some of the nonpoor people (in education and politics) are getting less poorer by concentrating upon the poor!

Cynicism aside, the economic factors seem to be closely associated with the ethclass factors. Thus, "if a person is poor, there is a fair chance - 1 chance in 5 - that he is Negro, or Puerto Rican, or Mexican, or Indian."[16]

But, how do we define the poor? Economists and sociologists tell us that the average gross family income in 1962 was $7,140, while the median family income (1961 figure) was roughly $5,000. In 1961, five per cent each of American families were annually earning less than $1,000 or more than $15,000. The latter families may be called affluent, although few of them are truly wealthy. On the other hand, any typical family (a couple and three children) whose annual gross income is less than $4,000 would find it difficult to get by and may hence be classified as poor. Between the affluent and the poor, "we can designate families as deprived if their yearly income is more than $4,000 but less than $6,000, and as comfortable if their income ranges between $6,000 and $15,000."[17]

Using these definitions, it is observed that about 31 per cent of the nation's families, or over 14 million families and 36 million people, are to be classified as poor. In addition, about 22 per cent or 10 million families fall in the category of the deprived. Thus, the poor and the deprived together constitute 53 per cent of the American families, while the remaining 47 per cent are in the comfortable or affluent range.

Now, it can certainly be argued that all this is a matter of definition. The fact is, however, that the effect of using different definitions on the overall estimate of the size of the poverty problem is "very little."[18] It may further be contended that even the poorest of American families are still far better off than millions living in other lands.

Unfortunately, however, "poverty ... has a special significance in a wealthy society" which values financial success highly and measures a person's worth on this criterion.

> "When one must watch his children go to bed hungry or go to school with ill-fitting, worn clothing, it is little comfort to be told that they are better fed and clothed than many children

> in the world. When one's early teenage son or daughter drops out of school to look for a job, it is really no answer to be told that already he has had more education than millions of adults in other countries. It is no answer, because our poor are not living in these 'other countries.' It is this society, and not some under-developed country on the other side of the globe, that our poor know best and whose standards of living they use as a point of comparison with their own."[19]

The awareness of this contrast is keener because of the societal shift from the Protestant ethic or the morality of want (hard labor, thrift, saving, and delay of gratification) to the morality of affluence (the buy-now-pay-later philosophy, and a belief in consumption and waste). Such a trend affects the attitudes of the poor and, at the same time, the fact of economic unproductivity of these people tends to make the rest of the society discuss the matter in utilitarian or pay-off terms, thus contradicting the plausible dream of American individualism and egalitarianism.[20]

Ecological Factors

In defining the culturally variant groups, it also appears important to specify where they came from, where they are, and where they are going. For example, Havighurst's list mentioned earlier indicated that (im)migrants of rural background to industrialized areas represent a sizable portion of the disadvantaged population. Had they stayed around on the farm, would they have been better off? The answer, unfortunately, seems negative and these people are in that enviable "damned if they will and damned if they won't" situation.

First, it is well known that there has been a consistently decreasing trend in the U. S. farm population. At the turn of the century, one in three workers in the nation was employed on a farm, but the figure today is less than one in ten. With this shift in the form of industry came the abandonment of tenant farming, consolidation of land into larger operating units, and mechanization of agriculture. These resulted in, among other things, a sharp reduction in the number of available farm occupations, especially in the semi-skilled and un-skilled categories.[21]

This transition from rural areas and jobs to urban residence and employment naturally affected many ethnic groups, notably, Negroes. In 1900, 77.3 per cent of the Negro population were classified rural, while the proportion in 1960 was 26.6 per cent. The movement from the South, estimated at four million people or more over the period, raised the colored population of the North to nearly 30 per cent and of the West to nearly four per cent of the total Negro population.

Many of these emigrants left their native states under the pressure of high fertility rate, surplus farm labor, and limited industrial opportunities in the South, but also in the search of a promised land with lesser

discrimination and better living conditions. Unfortunately, however, what awaited most of them in the North was marginal living with family disorganization, congested and segregated economic insecurity, malnutrition, and ill-health. [22]

Second, although they tend to be left forgotten in the shadow of the more dramatic plight of their big city brothers, the nation's farmers are poor. It is said that about one-third of the counties in the United States suffer from low-income farm problems. In 1960, the median gross income of all experienced civilian labor force was reported at $4, 621 (male) and $2, 257 (female). On the other hand, the figures for farmers and farm managers were $2, 169 and $836 for, respectively, male and female, while those for farm laborers and foremen were only $1, 066 and $602. [23]

Naturally, great variations are observed among rural areas themselves. For example, in 1956, the index of rural level of living was 145 for the entire nation, 169 in the Northeast, 167 in the West, 165 in the North-Central States, while it was merely 119 in the South. Large differences were observed between the families in the South and those in the rest of the farming areas in their possession of such facilities as running water, flush toilet, and telephone. [24] In any case, the impoverished conditions of rural America should not be ignored in our discussion of the disadvantaged. The mountain folk of Appalachia is just a symbol of the rural population in need.

In addition to those who moved, more or less permanently, from farms to cities, we have a large number of migratory works as a distinctly variant group. Among the three categories of hired farm workers, namely, the regular workers (employed for more than 150 days a year by a single employer), seasonal workers (employed less than 150 days and by more than one employer), and migratory workers, the most precarious is the status of the last or itinerant farmhands. Between 1950 and 1960, the total number of these workers remained under 500, 000. [25]

In general, there are six streams of migratory farm laborers identified:

1. About 60, 000 workers on the Atlantic coast, most of whom are Negro, supplemented by workers from Puerto Rico and Mexican-Americans.

2. Approximately 60, 000 workers, nearly all Mexican-Americans, in the sugar-beet stream which starts in Texas and goes north into the North Central and Mountain States.

3. About 30, 000 men of Mexican descent who come up from Texas to Montana and North Dakota, mainly as combine teams, to harvest wheat and small-grain.

4. About 80,000 workers of Mexican descent plus Negroes harvest cotton, starting from Texas - one group goes to the Mississippi Delta and a larger one goes into New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California.

5. Approximately 30,000 people of early American stock who move north and west from Oklahoma, Arkansas, and western Tennessee to pick fruit and tomatoes.

6. About 120,000 workers of all backgrounds who work up and down the Pacific coast."[26]

There was, in addition, a group of imported foreign workers numbering up to about 70,000, but the largest source of these was closed in 1964 by the Congressional action to discontinue the Mexican Contract Labor (Bracero) Program of 1951.

In a sense, the life of these itinerant farm hands typifies the failure end of the continuum in a society oriented to success in the form of visible things and achievement. Making an average of only $902 in 1961, most of the migratory workers travel with their families, living in primitive quarters with few modern facilities. The Grapes of Wrath is not an old, forgotten story. Transient and isolated, these people are not protected by any minimum wage standards or by health, medical and social care. Formal education is yet to reach the majority of their children.[27] No stable job, no money, no house, no property, no status, no nothing - here is a people which has not moved from the rags to riches, who has not climbed the ladder to the stars, and who has betrayed the American dream. But who, indeed, is to blame?

Finally, let us remember the fact that the transient nature of the underprivileged is not restricted to the migrant farm workers. "One of the problems of inner city poor children is the residential mobility of their families that continually disrupts their school life. ... Children of the inner city have often moved many times during their school lives and more frequently than middle-class children. ... Much of the residential mobility is a reaction to frustration and is without design or purpose except for a vague hope of a new chance."[28] Only that the search never ends and the periodic moves continue forever.

What It Means To Be One Of Them

Parameters are not determinants and they are obviously not mutually independent in the American society. Being a member of a minority group, belonging to the lower-lower social stratum, occupying the lowest economic position, or joining the occupationally and residentially migrant population - these telling signs, either singly or in combination, do not necessarily justify our concluding that the person is doomed from our viewpoint. There

are enough exceptions to caution us against a blanket diagnosis. In the same vein, however, none of these conditions bespeaks favorable environmental settings for a person in this nation.

Assuming, for the moment, that you are one of them, what is it like? The answer may be approximated from the notable description of those on the bottom by Hollingshead.[29] You may be of American stock, early or late, or of foreign descent, e. g., Polish, German, or Norwegian. Perhaps it does not make much difference to outsiders who you are but, within the "scum of the city" itself, this more or less pinpoints the particular subarea you live in.

A dilapidated, box-like home; a wood-coal stove or a kerosene burner for both heating and cooking; a sagging sofa and/or an iron bed for living and sleeping; an old mirror and several magazine cutouts on the wall; a row of nails to serve as a wardrobe; an abused table and a few poorly-fixed chairs; a radio and a bare lightbulb or two; assorted dishes and pans; no books and no phone (less than one per cent have it); no independent bath-toilet facilities (about one in seven homes has these); city water (three out of four within the city limits), wells, springs, or creeks.

Privacy in the home is almost nonexistent; the house is rented in four cases out of five; one in two families owns a car which is more than 7 years old; the father is the chief breadwinner in three out of five homes but his employment is unskilled and irregular; the income is meager (the range in Elmtown was $500 to $1, 500, with a mode of $850) and personal loans from brokers (in the order of $50) are difficult to obtain.[30] The marital relationship is unstable; 20 to 25 per cent of all births are estimated to be illegitimate; close to 80 per cent of the mothers gave birth to their first child before the age of 20; little pre- and post-natal care of either mother or child; the number of children is large (the mean in Elmtown was 5. 6 per mother, the range being 1 to 13); the mother-child relation is the strongest and most enduring family tie.

Nearly 60 per cent of the families have been broken up by death, desertion, separation, or divorce; formal education is largely limited to the elementary school; religious ties are quite tenuous and often hostile ("The 'Everyone Welcome' signs in front of the churches should add 'except people like us . . . . '"); leisure time, extensive because of unemployment and illness, is spent in loafing around the neighborhood, informal visits, gossipping, petty gambling, cheap theaters, drinking, sex plays, and fights; no organized community activities or social functions; residents are well acquainted with the police, sheriff, prosecuting attorney and judge, but only slightly known to the ministers and school officials. People are passive, fatalistic, resigned to the life of frustration and defeat in a community which despises them for their disregard of morals, lack of "success" goals, and dire poverty. They are nonpeople.

One thing which characterizes this kind of life is the hopeless quality of human existence, despair, resignation, and bitterness.[31] When a person is struggling for survival and living "in a world of anxiety about the immediate provisions for his basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter, he learns to seek immediate gratification in whatever he does. .... Lower-class behavior, which may be regarded as delinquent or shiftless and unmotivated by other groups, is usually realistic and responsive to the cultural situation."[32] He thus develops a strong present-time orientation.

What else does lacking the "essential strength of hope" imply? Henry believes that "those who cannot hope for achievement or security can have no concept of the organization of behavior through time toward goals. .... His behavior, having neither background nor direction, is disorganized. What is left of him is the irreducible ash - the survival self - the flight from death."[33] Not only does he lose the sight of time but also his perception of self, since, as pointed out by Heidegger, self - identity is dependent upon the continuity and movement through time: namely, what I was yesterday, what I am today, and what I will be tomorrow. Truncation of any part of this temporal organization is bound to affect the sense of I-ness. When a child says, "I'm nobody, who are you? Are you nobody too?," in the words of Emily Dickinson,[34] he seems to be revealing some fundamental insight over and beyond mere reflection of societal appraisal of him. He does not think of the uncertain future and he stifles all memories of the past, thus fixating in the present. He does not have a clear sense of goals and purposes, nor that of human history and heritage. He is indeed nobody.

Time perspective provides an alternative to impulsive action by freeing a person from the domination of the immediate situation and, further, allows a more accurate assessment of people and events. This, then, is the quality often found to differentiate between middle-class and lower-class members, between normal and schizophrenic adults, between delinquent and nondelinquent adolescents, and between father-present and father-absent children.[35]

Chances are that the unfortunate children never develop an adequate sense of futurity, both in its personal aspects (personal projection for the future; living in the future; feeling about and investing in the future) and in its cognitive aspects (working with the future as an abstract cognitive category; utilizing time to organize and interpret experiences).[36] This, in turn, would result in an incomplete differentiation between what is expected (level of reality in the future) and what is dreamed of or wished for (level of irreality in the future).[37] It is recalled in this connection that Hollingshead found among his Elmtown children of the unskilled workers a very large amount of uncertainty in vocational aims.[38] Also pertinent is the following observation by Janowitz:

"Children who cannot achieve adequately often compensate by exaggerating the extent of their abilities. There is often real confusion about what they can do. .... Studies have been done showing that nonachieving children of sixteen to seventeen still express ambitions of wanting to be doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Such findings have been used to argue that they have the same aspirations that so-called middle-class children have. Actually, it proves nothing of the kind. It only proves that these children are guilty of very wishful thinking."[39]

Two additional things must be mentioned before we leave the topic of time perspective. First, it is a fact that some of the characteristics of the disadvantaged in the United States resemble those in different cultures. For example, the present time orientation, subjugation-to-nature (fatalism and resignation) rather than mastery-over-nature philosophy, and existing (low mobility aspiration and achievement need) rather than doing personality type, all remind us of the cultural patterns of Latin-American people who, by chance or by scheme, find themselves largely among the poor in this country.[40] Whether the impoverished and segregated living conditions first molded such values or the process worked in reverse at the outset is an academic question for our immediate purposes. The important points are that values are sharply in conflict and that they tend to perpetuate themselves.[41]

Second, there are some indications that the loss of the sense of the past and future, and of the goals and purposes are becoming an experience not exclusively of those unlike ourselves. For one thing, in spite of our vigorous pursuit of happiness in the form of tangible fruits of modern science and technology and in spite of our affluence, we have been beset by the uneasy feelings of alienation, anxiety, and absence of meaning in life. This forces us back into the vicious cycle of activity again and invites an observer to remark that "a serious discussion of the future is just what is missing in the United States," due to our fear of something worse than total destruction, namely, "total meaninglessness."[42]

For another, the accelerating pace of social changes and the resultant generational discontinuities make the past to grow "progressively more different from the present in fact" and "more remote and irrelevant psychologically. .... the future, too, grows more remote and uncertain. .... the present assumes a new significance as the one time in which the environment is relevant, immediate, and knowable."[43] What long-range implications this phenomenon possesses for the American society as a whole and for its subgroups is unknown at the moment.

Transmission of Culture

It has been noted that many of the unfortunate children "(a) question their own self-worth; (b) feel inferior, particularly in the school situation; (c) fear new situations rather than feeling that they are a challenge to their

growth; (d) desire to cling tenaciously to the familiar; (e) have many feelings of guilt and shame; (f) have limited trust in adults; and (g) respond with triggerlike reactions to apparently minor frustrations."[44] As we intimated above, all these and other patterns of thought and behavior are solutions to their problems and not problems themselves in the first instance. These are functional, coping responses and will persist so long as the overall conditions of life require them of the people.[45]

It is, therefore, small wonder for us to find, for example, that 80 per cent of the parents in the relief families have grown up in families of the same type.[46] The culture has to perpetuate and transmit itself to help prevent the participants from perishing. Still, we have to agree with Wortis and his colleagues in their poignant observation:

> "Other elements in the environment were preparing the child to take over a lower class role. The inadequate incomes, crowded homes, lack of consistent familial ties, the mother's depression and helplessness in her own situation, were as important as her child-rearing practices in influencing the child's development and preparing him for an adult role. It was for us a sobering experience to watch a large group of newborn infants, plastic human beings of unknown potential, and observe over a 5-year period their social preparation to enter the class of the least skilled, least-educated, and most-rejected in our society."[47]

Children must learn to live with frustration and loneliness, to hit the balance between affiliation need and fear of involvement, and to "be good" in the sense of physical inactivity, verbal nonparticipation, and cognitive nonobservance in the overcrowded living space.[48] They must be exposed early to the reality of life such as hunger, heat and cold, noise, hostility, violence, addiction, sexual intimacy, sickness, and death. They are to obey their parents and look after their younger siblings, imitate the parental patterns of aggression so as to be able to fight off any outside offenders, acquire familiarity with law in its negative connotation, and develop strong peer-group identification.[49]

Certain generalized morals of solidarity must be inculcated: "Within this culture of poverty it is perfectly all right to take things from the out-group as long as you never take from the in-group. If you take from the in-group, then you're really a low-down bastard; if you take from the out-group and get away with it, you're smart."[50] Say nothing to the cops and social workers, they are the worst enemies. Be loyal and reciprocate help when the occasion arises.

At its best, then, such cultural orientation builds self-sufficient, courageous, pragmatic, patient, and compassionate human beings - Tolstoy knew them and so did Dostoyevsky and Dickens. Unfortunately, however,

the odds are increasingly against their emerging as the ultimate victors in the American urban society and mass culture.

Experience and Preparation

The life of the underprivileged is not geared to its symbolic aspects. Not much writing, reading, or counting is practiced, speaking or listening is not their art, and formal and informal rituals are infrequent. No wonder, then, a psychiatrist reports that interviewing with lower-class parents yield the impression that conversing with them would neither stimulate nor exercise the intellect. "They are more preoccupied with the 'What is it?' and 'How can I use it?' aspects of human existence than with the 'Why is it?' aspects. The brute necessities of economic survival compel them to be basically practical - not to wonder about the meaning and the interrelatedness of life."[51] It is in this sense that Hess and Shipman declared the meaning of deprivation to be a deprivation of meaning.[52]

Understandably, their children tend to be oriented to the concrete and physical. They approach problems, express feelings, and establish social relationships in motoric, rather than conceptual, mode.[53] Words stand for tangible objects and explicit action; they do not represent the general, the possible, and the hypothetical. Learning is physical and often slow, but the learner can be surprisingly articulate in role-playing situations.[54] They do not depend upon mediated responses, either schematic or thematic, and their reactions are stimulus- or immediacy-controlled.

Their language is(or, to be exact, is hypothesized to be) more informal and restricted than formal and elaborate. It is a language of implicit meaning. Its short, grammatically simple, syntactically poor sentences do not narrow the range of possible significance for the common, multireferential words and, hence, do not facilitate the communication of ideas and relationships requiring any precise formulation.[55]

It is sometimes argued that poverty results in sparsity of observable and manipulable objects and scarcity of cultural experiences. Let us not, however, believe that this is a case of stimulus deprivation in which the amount of stimulation drops below a certain threshold. The difference is not so much in the quantity of input as in its range (variability), quality (content and tone), and organization (patterns and sequencing).

Paucity of artifacts in his early life and lack in diversity of experiential categories would allow a child only a limited exercise of his visual and tactile senses. On the other hand, due possibly to the high noise level of his environment, his auditory discrimination does not highly develop and the resultant inattentiveness also affects his memory function.[56]

Likewise, his restricted environment, coupled with the relative absence of pertinent adult models and structured guidance, would hamper

development of his concept formation (collection of things and facts, comparison, and classification), decision making (reflection, weighing consequences, and selection among alternatives), and scientific attitude (planned, problem-solving orientation).[57]

Language and thought are closely intermeshed. Where the former tends to be concrete and particularized, so would be the latter. Accordingly, it is surmised that one of the most important consequences of limited environment is slow and incomplete transition from concrete, nonverbal and particularized, mode of thought and comprehension to abstract, verbal, and more precise (differentiated) one. Manipulation of symbols, either numerical, linguistic, or schematic, and handling of abstract concepts and their relationships tend to be restricted.[58]

In essence, the unfortunate children are not raised in a setting optimum for the development of competence. They may receive enough sensory stimulation quite early in their life but this is followed by a poverty of objects and a lack of consistency in perceptual experiences when these become crucial in the formation of linguistic-conceptual intelligence and competence motivation.[59]

Is there any wonder, then, why these children become poor and unwilling pupils? Is there any reason why we should expect anything but "cumulative deficit," or exacerbation of their original difficulties, in school?[60] Should we be surprised to find a dropout rate in the lowest income schools more than 20 times that in the highest income schools?[61] Is it not also suggestive that lower social-class standings were associated with higher prevalence rates of mental illness among children?[62]

Reaching to Them, Educationally - But How?

In educational spheres, we often hear an admonition, doubtless well-meant, that, if culturally variant pupils do not react favorably, schools and, more specifically, teachers are failing them, rather than the other way around. With due respect to this reminder of our responsibility, let us not be too eager and too ambitious. No matter how strongly we would believe in formal education as an ultimate hope for America, we should remember that education cannot get everything done which all other institutions left undone in the society. Education may be a powerful medicine but it is evidently not a panacea.

> "Generally, the schools are being asked to improve the economic and social position of deprived children through education, to break through the vicious circle of low education-low socioeconomic status that now exists. Specifically, the schools are being asked to compensate for the massive deprivations from which these children have suffered and to stimulate and motivate them to learn and achieve.

> Such a program, it seems to us, can be of tremendous significance if careful distinctions are made between what the schools can and cannot do."[63]

Most certainly, schools cannot reverse the tide single-handedly when no sustained help is forthcoming, politically, economically, legally, and socially, from the community. Teachers cannot be full-time parent substitutes and models and children should not be expected to live successfully in two contradictory worlds, home and school, one real and the other unreal.

Confrontation

A teacher carries his own heritage with himself, just as a pupil does his. When the two meet, it is not merely a matter of two individuals facing each other but also confrontation between two cultures. With their respective, and oft disparate, mores, customs, folkways, and taboo, the communication is never easy. The two participants in the interaction have a dual task of finding the other's identity and their own identity as perceived by the other. In other words, the teacher's questions are: "Who is this pupil? And, who does he think I am?" The pupil, in return, asks: "Who is this teacher? What is he like? And, how does he see me?"

Even when both parties are certain of their respective self identity, the context of awareness in which this interaction takes place can vary among a closed context (one side does not know either the other's identity or the other's view of his own identity), a suspicion context (one party suspects the other's true identity or the other's view of his own identity, or both), an open context (each side is aware of the other's identity and the other's view of his own), and a pretense context (both parties are fully aware but pretend not to be).[64]

Chances are that an incoming pupil is unaware of his teacher's identity or of how the latter perceives him. The teacher is a stranger whom the child meets in an unfamiliar place under uncommon circumstances.[65] This closed awareness is not the most relaxing atmosphere of all. The pupil, uncomfortable and rather powerless, restructures the setting by trying to find something about the other party. He sulks, balks, hollers, yells, shows off, or challenges the adult. In so doing, he gets the teacher's attention, discovers the limits to which the latter lets him go, and diagnoses the strange fellow. He may not be able to monopolize the interaction to himself but he can gather additional information by watching the teacher's reaction to other pupils.

Pretty soon, he starts suspecting certain things about the stranger and the suspicion context prevails. Is he a regular guy? Is he tough? Does he mean business? Is he a snooper? Is he a prosecutor? A warden? Does he understand you? Does he like you? After a while, the awareness context

may become, for better or for worse, open. The teacher cannot help revealing himself over an extended period of time and there remains no question in the pupil's mind who the teacher is and what the latter thinks of him.[66]

When two discrepant cultures meet, it takes rare individuals to bridge the two. Some of them may be able to integrate the new experiences into their new self, while others will become marginal men. Most, however, will take the safest way out by clinging to their old identity. This is the pattern followed by the majority of teachers and, not surprisingly, this is the path also taken by the majority of children. Both sides may be willing to (or have to, under the law or due to employment conditions) play along a little longer as if they were still feeling each other out and allowing some benefit of doubt. In fact, however, both may simply be operating in a pretense context, waiting the first break to come for getting away clean.

The picture is, nevertheless, not entirely bleak. For one thing, their "shocking" expressions and behaviors notwithstanding, the children are usually more serious, honest, and sensitive than adults. They are quick to divine the genuine and the fake. They are keen about the difference between love and respect given freely and willingly and bait serving, intentionally or unintentionally, to make a sucker out of them. And, thank heaven, children are willing to understand consistent and reasonable adults.[67] Teachers' attitudes would appear to influence children's more than the children's do to the teachers' and, further, teacher attitudes seem to count more heavily in lower-class schools than in middle-class schools.[68] Granted the difficulty in selection, preparation, and placement of sincere, perceptive, and mature teachers for the disadvantaged pupils, the possibility is there and the omen is not all bad.[69]

Communication: Oral

Many of us are poor at comprehending and conversing in a foreign language. Thus, there is a good reason to suspect that the "social-class determination of linguistic styles and habits" serves "as an effective deterrent to communication and understanding between child and teacher."[70]

Peisach's study on this point, however, seems to suggest rather complex relationships among relevant variables. For example, working with first - and fifth-grade children, both Negro and white, of lower- and middle-class background, she reported that neither the social class difference nor the ethnic difference mattered much in the pupils' understanding of teacher speech at the first-grade level. Sex differences (favoring girls), social-class differences (favoring the middle-class), and ethnic differences (favoring the white) all became salient at the fifth-grade level but the sex difference was the only one which stood adjustment for IQ differences.

When, in addition, children's comprehension of peer speech was studied among the fifth graders, it was found that the social-class differences (favoring the middle-class) were obtained but no ethnic differences were detected. Quite interestingly, the lower-class pupils understood (in the sense that they got the meaning of the communication in spite of certain intentional omissions) the speech samples as well as did the middle-class pupils when the samples represented either lower-class speech or Negro speech. With speech samples from either middle-class or white children, on the other hand, the lower-class pupils performed significantly poorer. While the overall ethnic differences were not significant, the Negro pupils tended to do as well as the white if the speech samples were from either boys or Negro children. In looking at these results, let us recall the variable of ethclass discussed earlier in this paper. Finally, among the fifth graders, Peisach reported that the auditory form of sample presentation was much more difficult than the visual (written) mode for both teachers' and children's speech. However, contrary to other evidence (see footnote 56), she obtained no significant interaction effects between the mode of presentation and any other variables, namely, social class, ethnicity, or sex.[71]

This study certainly bears replication and extension. One of its precious qualities rests in the fact that here children's understanding was studied in simulated teacher-pupil and peer interactions. Other studies, few if any, with the culturally variant tended to investigate the structure, either logical or functional, of children's or teachers' verbal behavior in isolation, or the whole pattern of verbal communication. For example, Loban's longitudinal study of kindergarten children depended upon their electrically-recorded oral language in the course of an interview.[72] A standard set of questions and a picture-story task constituted the main means of elicitation of verbal reaction. The transcribed speech was then scrutinized for its structure. No dialogue, either real or simulated, is involved and, in this sense, the analysis is made "in isolation." The counterpart of this approach, concentrating on teacher talk, has been pursued by, among others, Smith.[73]

In contrast, there are schemes of analysis which purport to describe the total configuration of teacher-pupil interaction. Some, like Flanders, explore the affective and content-free characteristics of the verbal behavior,[74] while others try to grasp the strategic intention and moves in teaching.[75] In either case, the analysis transcends the flesh-and-blood level of human communication. It is, by analogy, one thing to investigate the traffic patterns in a large metropolis to improve daily transportation and safety, while it is another to learn how individual drivers feel, think, and react with regard to the problems of automobile, driving, and traffic. Now, make no mistake about this: accumulation of systematic knowledge concerning the culturally variant is close to nil and we certainly need strategic research. This, however, does not obviate tactical studies or reconnaissance.

Communication: Written and Graphic

Earlier we said that the concept of time is not particularly meaningful among the underprivileged people and its use is not highly developed among them. This may be one of the reasons why their children have a difficult time handling verbal materials, either spoken or written. Verbal communication is a temporally-ordered method of abstraction, description, and interpretation, which is at best an incomplete translation of a person's perception of world, both internal and external.[76] The latter is an experience in whole and it is spatially, rather than temporally (linearly), organized.

This does not, of course, mean any superiority of a non-temporally oriented person in his spatial perception and cognitive mapping. It may simply mean that transition from spatial to temporal structuring of his experience may not be successful until his exploration of the spatial mode is sufficiently advanced to prepare him for abstraction and symbolization necessary for the temporal mode.

Such a viewpoint seems not entirely misleading if we recall the stages of development of spatial concept postulated by Stone and Church:

> "We can recognize five major stages in the development of spatial concepts, although any one person (at any age) may operate on several different levels. First, there is action space, consisting of the locations to which the child anchors his movements, and the regions in which he moves. Second, there is body space, based on the child's awareness of directions and distance in relation to his own body. Third, there is object space, where objects can be located relative to each other in terms of directions and distances transferred from body space, but now without direct reference to the child's body. .... The fourth stage we shall call map space, the elaboration and unification of concrete spatial experiences into more or less extensive 'mental maps' dependent on some system of co-ordinates or cardinal directions which may apply to rooms or regions, to towns or nations. Although map space may be concrete in the sense that it relies on visual images, it is abstract both in the sense that it involves principles of organization independent of particular objects and in the sense that a great deal of conceptual understanding is brought to bear in formulating mental maps. A final stage, abstract space, ... comes with the ability to deal with abstract spatial concepts necessary to mapping or navigational problems, geographical or astronomical ideas, or problems of solid geometry, even including, at the most abstract level, multi-dimensional space beyond our experienced three dimensions."[77]

Chances are that the disadvantaged children experience difficulties with the later stages of this ladder which complement the development of

verbal communication. This is obviously another area where close observation is sorely needed to help clarify the picture. In any case, it is unlikely that a person can skip building the basic structure before aiming at the sky and reparation is always painful and time-consuming.

Assuming that we have finally gotten the children interested in tackling the printed materials, what about books for reading? What do children seek? Here are some tips given by themselves: (1) Books about animals, aviation, careers, hobbies, sports, the sea, and westerns. In other words, those with lots of adventure, plenty of excitement, and many interesting facts of science and nature. (2) Books with many good pictures, good drawings, and big print. (3) Books which push the readers to go on to the next page and the next page and the next. No kidstuff, please.[78]

How solid are these recommendations of children from a technical point of view? Preference is one thing and effectiveness in teaching is often another. That interest and meaningfulness play an important role in sustaining a learner's efforts not many people contest. But how about the matter of graphic communication and verbal-nonverbal textbook design? Do illustrations really help? What kind of illustrations are to be preferred?

Evidence available on this point is scanty, to say the least, and studies pertinent to the culturally variant children are still harder to locate. Rather surprisingly, the answer to our first question, "Do illustrations help?," seems to be at best ambiguous among the literature, so long as the effects are measured on verbal tests. While several studies comparing illustrated texts with texts alone tended to produce negative results,[79] coupling of pictorial with oral presentations would appear to yield positive increments in learning over oral presentation alone.[80]

On the other hand, the answer to the second question, "What kind of illustrations are to be preferred?," seems a little clearer. It has been shown that considerable intelligence and training are necessary for the readers to understand diagrams, charts, and graphs and that different types of material require different types of diagrams.[81]

Working with newly literate adults and rural youth in Latin American countries, some authors pointed out that interpretation of illustrations tended to be extremely literal and structured by past experience of the subjects. For this type of reader, therefore, pictorial illustrations should be as realistic as possible and color should not be used unless it is realistic. Nevertheless, the amount of detail and action in a picture should be limited to the important points to be illustrated and should not contain too much extraneous details.[82]

Even though simulation of reality and spatial organization of temporal (verbal) material are two of the obvious functions of book illustration, the most complete reproduction of the reality by photographs and life-like

paintings and drawings may not be the best means to achieve the goal. Identification and accentuation of critical points (graphic segregation), as well as promotion of generalization and transfer (graphic integration), may be better accomplished by line and impressionistic drawings. These types of illustrations may also serve to arouse curiosity and imagination among the readers.[83]

What about the social reality of the reading material? A call for new types of books is by now a familiar one, urging us to adapt them to lower-class urban industrial (or rural) settings rather than to the traditional, middle-class, suburban environment and adjust them to the realities of economic, ethnic, occupational, and familial facts of the disadvantaged children's life.[84] No one is likely to quarrel with this argument. Nevertheless, we must be careful in not going overboard in the emphasis on realism. Janowitz explains this as follows:

> "The advantage of standard reading materials, however, is that everyone can share the common dreams and wishes they represent. The value of reading about families that are intact and people who have exciting adventures is that children identify with the story and vicariously share these experiences. In the development of new materials, realism about city life should not lose all the values of vicarious enjoyment. There is now great interest in developing special materials for deprived children. No material can be good for deprived children unless it is good for all children. We cannot afford to further alienate these youngsters by denying them the right to share the same dreams and hopes of other children. A culturally ghettoized curriculum would destroy the opportunity to bring them into the mainstream of American life. If they need more active experiences in learning, as many authorities feel they do, this is no different from the needs of all other children who spend too much time in passive learning, being quietly bored."[85]

In other words, if it is carried to an extreme, "being restricted to current reality could in itself be very unreal."[86]

Communication: Multi-Sensory

Within certain limits, it appears that simultaneous use of more than one sensory mode in material presentation helps the learner.[87] Since individual variations in the development of sense modalities (visual, aural, tactile, olfactory, and kinesthetic) are to be expected and since no one channel of communication can convey all pertinent information to a receiver, simultaneous input through several channels would ensure, at least theoretically, more comprehensive learning. The precise characteristics of the human information-processing mechanism and its interaction with materials presented are, however, not thoroughly investigated.[88]

With run-of-the-mill students, especially those in the upper-elementary and junior-high grades, some suggestive evidence is available to show that educational television may be useful in facilitating school learning.[89] Unfortunately, no parallel studies with the underprivileged children have yet come to the reviewer's attention.

As for the use of commercial television programs, several investigations indicated that television-viewing have different implications for the middle-class and working-class (upper-lower) members. Watching television is regarded by the former as a symbol of passive entertainment, of withdrawal from productive social activity, and of escape from constructive responsibility. As such, television conflicts with the traditional middle-class values of sociability, goal-seeking activity and reality-orientation. In contrast, the same activity serves for working-class people the functions of immediate gratification, escape from reality (fantasy seeking and vicarious experience), and release of frustration (catharsis and displaced aggression). These correspond well with the basic value pattern of working class and television-viewing does not pose any developmental discontinuity for their children, which, however, is the case with middle-class children.

It has been found that television, when it comes into a child's life, tends simply to replace other sources of fantasy experiences such as movies, radio, comic books, and escape magazines, while not affecting appreciably the sources of reality experiences, for example, newspaper, books, and general magazines. It was also shown that, although growth is accompanied with less fantasy-seeking activities and more reality-seeking in both groups, a larger proportion of higher socio-economic children shifted to the latter kind of activities than that of lower socio-economic children at early teens. In so doing, both groups meet parental sanction, the middle class children for not watching television much and the working-class children for persisting in their behavior.[90] Again, few studies of the culturally variant individuals have been known to the reviewer.

Likewise, the application of programmed materials and auto-instructional devices to the population under discussion would seem to be largely absent from the literature. Although it has been argued that these allow sequential presentation of the basics, insure subject-matter readiness, promote the feeling of mastery over an unfamiliar environment, and help individualize teaching,[91] actual evidence is not available. Furthermore, in view of the rather ambiguous status of the contribution of auto-instructional technique,[92] no generalization appears defensible as for its usefulness in education of the disadvantaged.

In passing, two things must be mentioned. First, in spite of its obvious implications for our work with the unfortunate children, no serious, systematic efforts have been known to cultivate basic sense modalities by,

for example, the Montessori method.[93] Likewise, explorations of behavioral communication (postural and other nonverbal forms as well as empathetic and intuitive channels) have been largely neglected.

Second, any simple-minded application of the pre-post test design with or without a control group to investigate the effects of any media leaves much to be desired.[94] This is especially true if the only criterion measures are of the verbal performance type (intelligence, achievement, language, etc.). Difficulties are numerous and well known but seldom heeded. These tests assess merely a fraction, and often a marginal one at that, of the target behavior - a lesson we should have learned from the hard struggle over the culture-fair tests.[95] Even when the desired changes are measurable on these, the sleeper effects or the element of delayed action are frequently overlooked - one cannot observe an automobile's velocity until he first starts the car and puts it into gear. No progress may be observed for a few minutes but this does not necessarily mean that nothing is happening in the car. Finally, the process of learning is frequently far more significant than the product, especially when individual differences are great. Model T may cover only 30 miles while T-Bird goes 90 in the same amount of time and for the same amount of gas. Each has to be judged against itself and any collective measures may be quite unsatisfactory to describe the actual efforts and results.

Epilogue

I think I have taxed the readers' patience long enough. In discussing these children, I cannot help recalling one case of relatively pure cultural deprivation recorded in history. As you recall, in the fall of 1799, the year seven in the new calendar of French Revolution, a child of 11 or 12 was caught in the Caune Woods. Completely naked, dirty, and alone, roaming in the mountains, the "Wild Boy of Aveyron" was described as indifferent to everything and attentive to nothing in the civilized society. His senses underdeveloped and intellectual functions atrophied, he was destitute of all means of human communication. "In a word, his whole life was a completely animal existence."[96]

A young doctor, Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard, devoted, idealistic, and patient, took on the responsibility of caring after the boy and of converting him into a social and cultural being. In his monumental work, Itard set five principal aims of "the mental and moral education of the Wild Boy of Aveyron" as follows:

> "1st Aim. To interest him in social life by rendering it more pleasant to him than the one he was then leading, and above all more like the life which he had just left.
>
> 2nd Aim. To awaken his nervous sensibility by the most energetic stimulation, and occasionally by intense emotion.

3rd Aim. To extend the range of his ideas by giving him new needs and by increasing his social contacts.

4th Aim. To lead him to the use of speech by inducing the exercise of imitation through the imperious law of necessity.

5th Aim. To make him exercise the simplest mental operations upon the objects of his physical needs over a period of time afterwards inducing the application of these mental processes to the objects of instruction. "

These are words published in 1801 ..... any comments, gentle readers?

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